

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

ARISTAGORAS, having induced the Ionians to revolt, thus died ; and Histiaëus, tyrant of Miletus, having been dismissed by Darius, repaired to Sardis. When he arrived from Susa, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, asked him for what reason he supposed the Ionians had revolted. Histiaëus said, he did not know, and seemed surprised at what had happened, as if he in truth knew nothing of the present state of affairs. But Artaphernes, perceiving that he was dissembling, and being aware of the exact truth as to the revolt, said, "Histiaëus, the state of the case is this ; you made the shoe and Aristagoras has put it on." 2. Artaphernes spoke thus concerning the revolt : but Histiaëus, fearing Artaphernes, as being privy to the truth, as soon as night came on, fled to the coast, having deceived king Darius ; for having promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, he insinuated himself into the command of the Ionians in the war against Darius. Having crossed over to Chios he was put in chains by the Chians, being suspected by them of planning some new design against them in favour of Darius. However, the Chians, having learnt the whole truth, and that he was an enemy to the king, released him. 3. At that time Histiaëus being questioned by the Ionians why he had so earnestly pressed Aristagoras to revolt from the king, and had wrought so much mischief to the Ionians, he by no means made known to them the true reason ; but told them, that "king Darius had resolved to remove the Phœnicians and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phœnicia ; and for this reason he had pressed him." Although the king had formed no resolution of the kind, he terrified the Ionians. 4. After this, Histiaëus, corresponding by means of a messenger, Hermippus an Atarnian, sent letters to certain Persians in Sardis, as if they had before conferred with him on the

subject of a revolt. But Hermippus did not deliver the letters to the persons to whom he had been sent, but put them into the hands of Artaphernes; he, having discovered all that was going on, commanded Hermippus to deliver the letters of Histæus to the persons for whom he brought them, and to deliver to him the answers that should be sent back to Histæus from the Persians. Thus they being discovered, Artaphernes thereupon put many of the Persians to death; and in consequence there was a great commotion in Sardis. 5. Histæus being disappointed of these hopes, the Chians conveyed him to Miletus, at his own request; but the Milesians, delighted at being rid of Aristagoras, were by no means desirous to receive another tyrant into their country, as they had tasted of freedom. Thereupon Histæus, going down to Miletus by night, endeavoured to enter it by force, but was wounded in the thigh by one of the Milesians. When he was repulsed from his own country, he went back to Chios, and from thence, since he could not persuade the Chians to furnish him with ships, he crossed over to Mitylene, and prevailed with the Lesbians to furnish him with ships; and they, having manned eight triremes, sailed with Histæus to Byzantium. There taking up their station, they took all the ships that sailed out of the Pontus, except such of them as said they were ready to submit to Histæus.

6. Histæus, then, and the Mitylenians, acted as above described. But a large naval and land force was expected against Miletus itself. For the Persian generals, having united their forces and formed one camp, marched against Miletus, deeming the other cities of less consequence. Of the maritime forces, the Phœnicians were the most zealous, and the Cyprians, who had been lately subdued, served with them, and the Cilicians, and Egyptians. 7. They then advanced against Miletus, and the rest of Ionia; but the Ionians, having heard of this, sent their respective deputies to the Panionium,¹ and when they arrived at that place and consulted together, it was determined not to assemble any land forces to oppose the Persians; but that the Milesians themselves should defend the walls; and that they should man their navy, without leaving a single ship behind; and after they had manned them, to assemble as soon as possible at Lade, to

¹ See B. I. ch. 143, 148.

fight in defence of Miletus. Lade is a small island lying off the city of the Milesians. 8. After this the Ionians came up with their ships manned, and with them the Æolians who inhabit Lesbos; and they formed their line in the following order. The Milesians themselves, who furnished eighty ships, occupied the east wing; and next to these the Prienians with twelve ships, and the Myusians with three; the Teians were next to the Myusians, with seventeen ships; the Chians were next the Teians, with a hundred ships; next to these, the Erythræans and the Phocæans were drawn up, the Erythræans furnishing eight ships, and the Phocæans three; next the Phocæans were the Lesbians with seventy ships; last of all the Samians were drawn up, occupying the western wing with sixty ships. Of all these, the whole number amounted to three hundred and fifty-three triremes. Such was the fleet of the Ionians. 9. On the side of the barbarians the number of ships amounted to six hundred: but when they arrived on the Milesian coast, and all their land forces were come up, the Persian generals, hearing the number of the Ionian fleet, began to fear they should not be strong enough to overcome it, and so should be also unable to take Miletus, since they were not masters at sea, and then might be in danger of receiving punishment at the hands of Darius. Taking these things into consideration, they summoned the tyrants of the Ionians, who, having been deprived of their governments by Aristagoras, had fled to the Medes, and happened at that time to be serving in the army against Miletus; having called together such of these men as were at hand, they addressed them as follows: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his zeal for the king's house. For let each of you endeavour to detach his own countrymen from the rest of the confederacy, and hold out to them and proclaim this, that they shall suffer no hurt on account of their rebellion, nor shall their buildings, whether sacred or profane, be burnt, nor shall they be treated with more severity than they were before. But if they will not do this, and will at all events come to the hazard of a battle, threaten them with this which will surely befall them; that when conquered in battle, they shall be enslaved; that we will make eunuchs of their sons, and transport their virgins to Bactra, and then give their country to others." 10. Thus they

spoke ; but the tyrants of the Ionians sent each by night to his own countrymen, to make known the warning. But the Ionians to whom these messages came, continued firm to their purpose and would not listen to treachery ; for each thought that the Persians had sent this message to themselves only. This, then, took place immediately after the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

11. Afterwards, when the Ionians had assembled at Lade, councils were held, and on occasion others addressed them, and amongst the rest, the Phocæan general Dionysius, who spoke as follows : “ Our affairs are in a critical² state, O Ionians, whether we shall be freemen or slaves, and that too as run-away slaves : now then, if you are willing to undergo hardships, for the present you will have toil, but will be enabled, by overcoming your enemies, to be free ; on the other hand, if you abandon yourselves to ease and disorder, I have no hope of you, that you will escape punishment at the hands of the king for your revolt. But be persuaded by me, and intrust yourselves to my guidance, and I promise you, if the gods are impartial, either that our enemies will not fight us at all, or if they do fight with us, they shall be completely beaten.” 12. The Ionians having heard this, intrusted themselves to the guidance of Dionysius ; and he, daily leading out the ships into a line, when he had exercised the rowers, by practising the manœuvre of cutting through one another’s line, and had put the marines under arms, kept the ships at anchor for the rest of the day : thus he subjected the Ionians to toil throughout the day. Accordingly for seven days they continued to obey, and did what was ordered ; but on the following day, the Ionians, unaccustomed to such toil, and worn down by hardships and the heat of the sun, spoke one to another as follows : “ What deity having offended, do we fill up this measure of affliction ? we who being beside ourselves, and having lost our senses, have intrusted ourselves to the guidance of a presumptuous Phocæan, who has contributed three ships ; but he, having got us under his control, afflicts us with intolerable hardships. Many of us have already fallen into distempers, and many must expect to meet with the same fate. Instead of these evils, it were better for us to suffer any thing else, and to endure the impending

² Literally, “ on a razor’s edge.”

servitude, be it what it may, than be oppressed by the present. Come, then, let us no longer obey him." Thus they spoke, and from that moment no one would obey; but having pitched tents on the island, they continued under the shade, and would not go on board the ships, or perform their exercise. 13. The generals of the Samians observing what was passing among the Ionians, and at the same time seeing great disorder among them, thereupon accepted the proposal of *Æaces*, son of *Syloson*, which he had before sent them at the desire of the Persians, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy of the Ionians; and moreover it was clearly impossible for them to overcome the power of the king, because they were convinced, that if they should overcome *Darius* with his present fleet, another five times as large would come against them. Therefore laying hold of this pretext, as soon as they saw the Ionians refusing to behave well, they deemed it for their advantage to preserve their own buildings, sacred and profane. This *Æaces*, from whom the Samians received the proposal, was son of *Syloson*, son of *Æaces*; and being tyrant of *Samos*, had been deprived of his government by *Aristagoras* the Milesian, as the other tyrants of *Ionia*.

14. When therefore the Phœnicians sailed against them, the Ionians also drew out their ships in line to oppose them; but when they came near and engaged each other, after that I am unable to affirm with certainty who of the Ionians proved themselves cowards, or brave men, in this sea-fight; for they mutually accuse each other. The Samians however are said at that moment to have hoisted sail, in pursuance of their agreement with *Æaces*, and steered out of the line to *Samos*, with the exception of eleven ships; the captains of these staid and fought, refusing to obey their commanders; and for this action the commonwealth of the Samians conferred upon them the honour of having their names and ancestry engraved on a column, as having proved themselves valiant men; and this column now stands in the forum. The Lesbians also, seeing those stationed next them flee, did the same as the Samians; and in like manner most of the Ionians followed their example. 15. Of those that persisted in the battle, the Chians were most roughly handled, as they displayed signal proofs of valour, and would not act as cowards. They contributed, as has been before mentioned, one hundred ships,

and on board each of them, forty chosen citizens serving as marines ; and though they saw most of the confederates abandoning the common cause, they disdained to follow the example of their treachery ; but choosing rather to remain with the few allies, they continued the fight, cutting through the enemies' line, until, after they had taken many of the enemies' ships, they lost most of their own. The Chians then fled to their own country with the remainder of their fleet.

16. Those Chians whose ships were disabled in the fight, when they were pursued, took refuge in Mycale ; and having run their ships aground, left them there, and marched overland through the continent ; but when the Chians on their return entered the territory of Ephesus, and arrived near the city by night, at a time when the women there were celebrating the Thesmophoria ; the Ephesians thereupon, not having before heard how it had fared with the Chians, and seeing an army enter their territory, thinking they were certainly robbers, and were come to seize their women, rushed out in a body, and slew the Chians. Such was the fate they met with. 17. Dionysius the Phocæan, when he perceived that the affairs of the Ionians were utterly ruined, having taken three of the enemies' ships, sailed away, not indeed to Phocæa, well knowing that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia, but sailed directly, as he was, to Phœnicia ; and there having disabled some merchant-men, and obtained great wealth, he sailed to Sicily ; and sallying out from thence, he established himself as a pirate, *attacking* none of the Grecians, but only the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians.

18. The Persians, when they had conquered the Ionians in the sea-fight, besieging Miletus both by land and sea, and undermining the walls, and bringing up all kinds of military engines against it, took it completely, in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras ; and they reduced the city to slavery, so that the event coincided with the oracle delivered concerning Miletus. 19. For when the Argives consulted the oracle at Delphi respecting the preservation of their city, a double answer was given ; part concerning themselves, and the addition *the Pythian* uttered concerning the Milesians. The part relating to the Argives I will mention when I come to that part of the history ;³ the words she uttered relative to the Milesians, who were not present, were as follows : "Then Miletus,

³ See chap. 77.

contriver of wicked deeds, thou shalt become a feast and a rich gift to many: thy wives shall wash the feet of many long-haired masters, and our temple at Didymi shall be tended by others." These things befel the Milesians at that time; for most of the men were killed by the Persians, who wear long hair; and their women and children were treated as slaves; and the sacred enclosure at Didymi, both the temple and the shrine, were pillaged and burnt. Of the riches in this temple I have frequently made mention in other parts of my history.⁴ 20. Such of the Milesians as were taken alive, were afterwards conveyed to Susa; and king Darius, without having done them any other harm, settled them on that which is called the Red Sea, in the city of Ampe, near which the Tigris, flowing by, falls into the sea. Of the Milesian territory, the Persians themselves retained the parts round the city, and the plain; the mountainous parts they gave to the Carians of Pedasus to occupy. 21. When the Milesians suffered thus at the hands of the Persians, the Sybarites, who inhabited Laos and Scydrus, having been deprived of their country, did not show equal sympathy. For when Sybaris⁵ was taken by the Crotonians, all the Milesians of every age shaved their heads, and displayed marks of deep mourning; for these two cities had been more strictly united in friendship than any others we are acquainted with. The Athenians behaved in a very different manner; for the Athenians made it evident that they were excessively grieved at the capture of Miletus, both in many other ways, and more particularly when Phrynichus had composed a drama of the capture of Miletus, and represented it, the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him a thousand drachms for renewing the memory of their domestic misfortunes; and they gave order that thenceforth no one should act this drama.

22. Miletus therefore was stripped of its Milesian population. But the Samians who had property were by no means pleased with what had been done by their generals in favour of the Medes, and determined, on a consultation immediately after the sea-fight, to sail away to a colony, before the tyrant Æaces should arrive in their country, and not by remaining become slaves to the Medes and Æaces. For the Zancleæans of Sicily, at this very time, sending messengers to Ionia, invited the Ionians to Calc Acte, wishing them to found a city of

⁴ See B. I. 92, II. 159, and V. 36. ⁵ See Book V. chap. 41.

Ionians there. This Cale Acte, as it is called, belongs to the Sicilians, and is in that part of Sicily that faces the Tyrhenians. Accordingly, when they invited them, the Samians alone of all the Ionians set out, and with them such Milesians as had escaped by flight. 23. During this time, the following incident occurred. The Samians, on their way to Sicily, touched on the country of the Epizephyrian Locrians, and the Zancleães, both they and their king, whose name was Scythes, were employed in the besieging of a Sicilian city, desiring to take it: and Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, who was then at variance with the Zancleães, understanding this, held correspondence with the Samians, and persuaded them that it would be well not to trouble themselves about Cale Acte, to which they were sailing, but to seize the city of Zancle, which was destitute of inhabitants. The Samians were persuaded, and possessed themselves of Zancle, whereupon the Zancleães, hearing that their city was occupied, went to recover it, and called to their assistance Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, for he was their ally. But when Hippocrates came with his army, as if to assist them, he having thrown into chains Scythes, king of the Zancleães, who had already lost his city, and his brother Pythogenes, sent them away to the city of Inycum: after having conferred with the Samians, and given and received oaths, he betrayed the rest of the Zancleães; and this was the reward agreed upon by the Samians, that he should have one half of the moveables and slaves in the city, and that Hippocrates should have for his share all that was in the country. Accordingly, having put in chains the greater part of the Zancleães, he treated them as slaves; and three hundred of the principal citizens he delivered to the Samians to be put to death; the Samians, however, would not do this. 24. Scythes, king of the Zancleães, made his escape from Inycum to Himera, and from thence passed over into Asia, and went up to king Darius. Darius considered him the most just of all the men who had come up to him from Greece. For having asked permission of the king, he went to Sicily, and returned back from Sicily to the king, and at last, being very rich, died among the Persians of old age. Thus the Samians, being freed from the Medes, gained without toil the very beautiful city of Zancle. 25. After the sea-fight which took place off Miletus, the Phœnicians, by order of the Per-

sians, conveyed *Æacces*, son of *Syloson*, to *Samos*, as one who had deserved much at their hands and had performed great services. The *Samians* were the only people of those that revolted from *Darius* whose city and sacred buildings were not burnt, on account of the defection of their ships in the sea-fight. *Miletus* being taken, the *Persians* immediately got possession of *Caria*; some of the cities having submitted of their own accord, and others they reduced by force. Now these things happened thus.

26. While *Histiæus* the *Milesian* was near *Byzantium*, intercepting the trading ships of the *Ionians* that sailed out of the *Pontus*, news was brought him of what had taken place at *Miletus*; he therefore intrusted his affairs on the *Hellespont* to *Bisaltes*, son of *Apollophanes*, of *Abydos*; and he himself, having taken the *Lesbians* with him, sailed to *Chios*, and engaged with a garrison of *Chians*, that would not admit him, at a place called *Cœli* in the *Chian* territory: and he killed great numbers of them; and the rest of the *Chians*, as they had been much shattered by the sea-fight, *Histiæus*, with the *Lesbians*, got the mastery of, setting out from *Polichne* of the *Chians*. 27. The deity is wont to give some previous warning when any great calamities are about to befall any city or nation, and before these misfortunes great warnings happened to the *Chians*. For in the first place, when they sent to *Delphi* a band of one hundred youths, two of them only returned home, but the remaining ninety-eight a pestilence seized and carried off: in the next place, about the same time, a little before the sea-fight, a house in the city fell in upon some boys, as they were learning to read, so that of one hundred and twenty boys one only escaped. These warnings the deity showed them beforehand. After this, the sea-fight following, threw the city prostrate; and after the sea-fight *Histiæus* with the *Lesbians* came upon them; and as the *Chians* had been much shattered, he easily reduced them to subjection. 28. From thence *Histiæus* proceeded to attack *Thasus* with a large body of *Ionians* and *Æolians*; and while he was besieging *Thasus*, news came that the *Phœnicians* were sailing from *Miletus* against the rest of *Ionia*. When he heard this, he left *Thasus* untaken, and himself hastened to *Lesbos* with all his forces; and from *Lesbos*, because his army was suffering from want, he crossed to the opposite shore for the purpose of reaping the corn of

Atarneus, and the plain of Caicus which belonged to the Mysians. But Harpagus, a Persian, general of a considerable army, happened to be in those parts; he engaged with him after his landing, took Histæus himself prisoner, and destroyed the greater part of his army.

29. Histæus was thus taken prisoner. When the Greeks were fighting with the Persians at Malene in the district of Atarneus, they maintained their ground for a long time, but the cavalry at length coming up, fell upon the Greeks; then it was the work of the cavalry; and when the Greeks had betaken themselves to flight, Histæus, hoping that he should not be put to death by the king for his present offence, conceived such a desire of preserving his life, that when in his flight he was overtaken by a Persian, and being overtaken was on the point of being stabbed by him, he, speaking in the Persian language, discovered himself to be Histæus the Milesian.

30. Now if, when he was taken prisoner, he had been conducted to king Darius, in my opinion, he would have suffered no punishment, and the king would have forgiven him his fault. But now, for this very reason, and lest by escaping he should again regain his influence with the king, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who received him as soon as he was conducted to Sardis, impaled his body on the spot, and having embalmed the head, sent it to Darius at Susa. Darius having heard of this, and having blamed those that had done it, because they had not brought him alive into his presence, gave orders that, having washed and adorned the head of Histæus, they should inter it honourably, as the remains of a man who had been a great benefactor to himself and the Persians. Such was the fate of Histæus.

31. The naval force of the Persians having wintered near Miletus, when it set sail in the second year, easily subdued the islands lying near the continent, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos: and when they took any one of these islands, the barbarians, as they possessed themselves of each, netted the inhabitants. They net them in this manner. Taking one another by the hand, they extend from the northern to the southern sea, and so march over the island, hunting out the inhabitants. They also took the Ionian cities on the continent with the same ease; but they did not net the inhabitants, for that was impossible.

32. Then the Persian generals did not belie the threats which

they had uttered against the Ionians, when arrayed against them. For when they had made themselves masters of the cities, they selected the handsomest youths, and castrated them, and made them eunuchs instead of men, and the most beautiful virgins they carried away to the king; this they did, and burnt the cities with the very temples. Thus the Ionians were for the third time reduced to slavery; first by the Lydians, then twice successively by the Persians. 33. The naval force departing from Ionia, reduced all the places on the left of the Hellespont as one sails in; for the places on the right, being on the continent, had already been subdued by the Persians. The following places on the Hellespont are in Europe; the Chersonese, in which are many cities, Perinthus, and the fortified towns towards Thrace, and Selybrie, and Byzantium. The Byzantians, however, and the Chalcedonians on the opposite side, did not wait the coming of the Phœnician fleet; but having abandoned their country, went inwards to the Euxine, and there founded the city of Mesambria. But the Phœnicians, having burnt down the places above mentioned, bent their course to Proconnesus, and Artace, and having devoted these also to flames, sailed back again to the Chersonese, for the purpose of destroying the rest of the cities, which, when they passed near them before, they had not laid waste. Against Cyzicus they did not sail at all, for the Cyziceniens had of their own accord submitted to the king before the arrival of the Phœnicians, having capitulated with Cebares, son of Megabazus, governor of Dascylium. All the other cities of the Chersonese, except Cardia, the Phœnicians subdued.

34. Till that time Miltiades, son of Cimon, son of Stesagoras, was tyrant of these cities, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, having formerly acquired this government in the following manner. The Thracian Dolonci possessed this Chersonese; these Dolonci then, being pressed in war by the Apsynthians, sent their kings to Delphi to consult the oracle concerning the war; the Pythian answered them, "that they should take that man with them to their country to found a colony, who after their departure from the temple should first offer them hospitality." Accordingly the Dolonci, going by the sacred way, went through *the territories* of the Phocians and Bœotians, and when no one invited them, turned out of the road towards Athens. 35. At that time Pisistratus had the supreme power at Athens; but

Miltiades, son of Cypselus, had considerable influence; he was of a family that maintained horses for the chariot-races, and was originally descended from Æacus and Ægina, but in later times was an Athenian, Philæus, son of Ajax, having been the first Athenian of that family. This Miltiades, being seated in his own portico, and seeing the Dolonci passing by, wearing a dress not belonging to the country, and *carrying* javelins, called out to them; and upon their coming to him, he offered them shelter and hospitality. They having accepted his invitation, and having been entertained by him, made known to him the whole oracle, and entreated him to obey the deity. Their words persuaded Miltiades as soon as he heard them, for he was troubled with the government of Pisistratus, and desired to get out of his way. He therefore immediately set out to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether he should do that which the Dolonci requested of him. 36. The Pythian having bid him do so, thereupon Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly won the Olympic prize in the chariot-race, taking with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in the expedition, set sail with the Dolonci, and took possession of the country; and they who introduced him appointed him tyrant. He, first of all, built a wall on the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city of Cardia to Pactya, in order that the Apsynthians might not be able to injure them by making incursions into their country. The width of this isthmus is thirty-six stades; and from this isthmus the whole Chersonese inwards, is four hundred and twenty stades in length. 37. Miltiades, then, having built a wall across the neck of the Chersonese, and by that means repelled the Apsynthians, next made war upon the Lampsacenians; and the Lampsacenians, having laid an ambush, took him prisoner. But Miltiades was well known to Cræsus; Cræsus therefore, having heard of this event, sent and commanded the Lampsacenians to release Miltiades; if not, he threatened that he would destroy them like a pine-tree. The Lampsacenians being in uncertainty in their interpretations, as to what was the meaning of the saying with which Cræsus threatened them, that he would destroy them like a pine-tree, at length, with some difficulty, one of the elders, having discovered it, told the real truth, that the pine alone of all trees, when cut down, does not send forth any more shoots, but perishes en-

tirely : whereupon the Lampsacenians, dreading the power of Cræsus, set Miltiades at liberty. 38. He accordingly escaped by means of Cræsus, and afterwards died childless, having bequeathed the government and his property to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his brother by the same mother. And when he was dead the Chersonesians sacrificed to him, as is usual to a founder, and instituted equestrian and gymnastic exercises, in which no Lampsacanian is permitted to contend. The war with the Lampsacenians still continuing, it also befel Stesagoras to die childless ; being stricken on the head with an axe in the prytaneum, by a man who in pretence was a deserter, but was in fact an enemy, and that a very vehement one.

39. Stesagoras having died in that manner, the Pisistratidæ thereupon sent Miltiades, son of Cimon, and brother of Stesagoras who had died, with one ship to the Chersonese, to assume the government ; they had also treated him with kindness at Athens, as if they had not been parties to the death of his father Cimon ; the particulars of which I will relate in another place.⁶ Miltiades having arrived in the Chersonese, kept himself at home under colour of honouring the memory of his brother Stesagoras ; but the Chersonesians having heard of this, the principal persons of all the cities assembled together from every quarter, and having come in a body with the intention of condoling with him, were all thrown into chains by him. Thus Miltiades got possession of the Chersonese, maintaining five hundred auxiliaries, and married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, king of the Thracians. 40. This Miltiades, son of Cimon, had lately arrived in the Chersonese ; and, after his arrival, other difficulties, greater than the present,⁷ befel him. For in the third year before these things, he fled from the Scythians ; for the Scythian nomades, having been provoked by king Darius, had assembled their forces, and marched as far as this Chersonese : Miltiades, not daring to wait their approach, fled from the Chersonese, until the Scythians departed, and the Dolonci brought him back again. These things happened in the third year before the present affairs. 41. Miltiades, having heard that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, loaded five triremes with the

⁶ See chap. 103.

⁷ By the present difficulties are meant those which Herodotus had begun to relate in chapter 33 of this Book.

property he had at hand, and sailed away for Athens : and when he had set out from the city of Cardia, he sailed through the gulf of Melas, and as he was passing by the Chersonese, the Phœnicians fell in with his ships. Now Miltiades himself escaped with four of the ships to Imbrus, but the fifth the Phœnicians pursued and took : of this ship, Metiochus the eldest of the sons of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus the Thracian, but by another woman, happened to be commander, and him the Phœnicians took together with the ship. When they heard that he was son of Miltiades, they took him up to the king, thinking that they should obtain great favour for themselves, because Miltiades had given an opinion to the Ionians advising them to comply with the Scythians, when the Scythians requested them to loose the bridge and return to their own country. But Darius, when the Phœnicians had taken Metiochus son of Miltiades up to him, did him no injury, but many favours ; for he gave him a house and estate, and a Persian wife, by whom he had children, who were reckoned among the Persians. But Miltiades arrived at Athens from Imbros.

42. During this year nothing more was done by the Persians relative to the war with the Ionians : on the contrary, the following things were done in this year which were advantageous to the Ionians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, having sent for deputies from the cities, compelled the Ionians to enter into engagements among themselves, that they would submit to legal decisions, and not commit depredations one upon another. This he compelled them to do, and having measured their lands by parasangs, which name the Persians give to thirty stades ; having measured them into these, he imposed tributes on each, which have continued the same from that time to the present, as they were imposed by Artaphernes ; and they were imposed nearly at the same amount as they had been before. These things then tended to peace.

43. In the beginning of the spring, the other generals having been dismissed by the king, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, went down to the coast, taking with him a very large land army, and a numerous naval force : he was young in years, and had lately married king Darius's daughter, Artazostra. Mardonius, leading this army, when he arrived in Cilicia, having gone in person on board ship, proceeded with the rest of the

fleet, but the other generals led the land army to the Hellespont. When Mardonius, sailing by Asia, reached Ionia, there *he did a thing*, which, when I mention it, will be a matter of very great astonishment to those Grecians, who cannot believe that Otanes, one of the seven Persians, gave an opinion that it was right for the Persians to be governed by a democracy; for Mardonius, having deposed the tyrants of the Ionians, established democracies in the cities. Having done this, he hastened to the Hellespont. And when a vast body of ships and a numerous land army was assembled, having crossed the Hellespont in ships, they marched through Europe, and directed their march against Eretria and Athens. 44. These cities indeed were the pretext of the expedition; but purposing to subdue as many Grecian cities as they could, in the first place they reduced the Thasians with their fleet, who did not even raise a hand to resist them; and in the next place with their land forces they enslaved the Macedonians, in addition to those that were before subject to them; for all the nations on this side the Macedonians were already under their power. Then crossing over from Thasus, they coasted along the continent as far as Acanthus; and proceeding from Acanthus they endeavoured to double Mount Athos, but a violent and irresistible north wind falling upon them as they were sailing round, very roughly dealt with a great number of the ships by driving them against Athos: for it is said, that as many as three hundred ships were destroyed, and upwards of twenty thousand men; for, as this sea around Athos abounds in monsters, some of them were seized and destroyed by these monsters; and others were dashed against the rocks, others knew not how to swim and so perished, and others from cold. Such, then, was the fate of the naval force. 45. Mardonius and the land forces, while encamped in Macedonia, the Thracian Brygi attacked in the night; and the Brygi slew many of them, and wounded Mardonius himself. Nevertheless, even they did not escape slavery at the hands of the Persians; for Mardonius did not quit those parts before he had reduced them to subjection. However, having subdued them, he led his army back again, having suffered a disaster with his land forces from the Brygi, and with his navy a greater one near Athos. Accordingly this armament, having met with such disgraceful reverses, retreated into Asia.

46. In the second year after these events, the Thasians having been accused by their neighbours of designing a revolt, Darius sent a messenger and commanded them to demolish their walls, and to transport their ships to Abdera. For the Thasians, having been besieged by Histiaëus the Milesian, and having large revenues, applied their wealth in building ships of war, and fortifying their city with a stronger wall. Their revenues arose both from the continent, and from their mines : from the gold mines of Scapte-Hyle proceeded in all eighty talents yearly, and from those in Thasus less indeed than that amount, yet so much that, as they were exempt from taxes on the produce of the soil, there came in to the Thasians in all, from the continent and the mines, a revenue of two hundred talents yearly ; and when the greatest quantity came in, three hundred talents. 47. I myself have seen these mines ; and by far the most wonderful of them are those which the Phœnicians discovered, who with Thasus colonized this island, which on that occasion took its name from this Thasus the Phœnician. These Phœnician mines are in that part of Thasus between a place called Ænyra, and Cœnyra, opposite Samothrace : a large mountain has been thrown upside down in the search. This, then, is of such a description. The Thasians, in obedience to the king, both demolished their walls, and transported all their ships to Abdera.

48. After this, Darius made trial of what were the intentions of the Greeks, whether to make war with him or to deliver themselves up. He therefore despatched heralds, appointing different persons to go to different parts throughout Greece, with orders to demand earth and water for the king. These accordingly he sent to Greece ; and despatched other heralds to the tributary cities on the coast, with orders to build ships of war and transports for horses. 49. They then set about preparing these things ; and to the heralds who came to Greece many of the inhabitants of the continent gave what the Persian demanded, as did all the islanders to whom they came and made the demand. Indeed the other islanders gave earth and water to Darius, and moreover the Æginetæ : but when they had done so, the Athenians forthwith threatened them, thinking that the Æginetæ had given *earth and water* out of ill-will towards themselves, in order that they might make war on them in conjunction with the Persian ; they therefore

gladly laid hold of the pretext, and going to Sparta, accused the Æginetæ of what they had done, as betraying Greece. 50. On this accusation Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, who was then king of the Spartans, crossed over to Ægina, intending to seize the most culpable of the Æginetæ; but when he attempted to seize them, others of the Æginetæ opposed him, and amongst them especially Crius, son of Polycritus, who said, "that he should not carry off any one of the Æginetæ with impunity; for that he was acting as he did without the consent of the commonwealth of the Spartans, being persuaded by bribes from the Athenians; and that if it had not been so, he would have come with the other king to seize them." He said this in consequence of a message from Demaratus. But Cleomenes, being driven from Ægina, asked Crius what his name was; and he told him the truth; whereupon Cleomenes said to him, "Now then tip your horns with brass, O Crius,⁸ as you will have to contend with great misfortunes." 51. Meanwhile Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was likewise king of the Spartans, but of an inferior family, remaining in Sparta, aspersed the conduct of Cleomenes: he was in no other respect inferior, for they were sprung from the same origin, but somehow the family of Eurysthenes was more honoured, on account of seniority.

52. For the Lacedæmonians, agreeing with none of the poets, affirm, that Aristodemus himself, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, being king, brought them to the country which they now inhabit, and not the sons of Aristodemus. And that after no long time Aristodemus's wife, whose name was Argia, brought forth: they say that she was daughter of Autesion, son of Tisamenes, son of Thersander, son of Polynices; and that she brought twins; and that Aristodemus, having looked on the children, died of disease: that the Lacedæmonians of that day resolved, according to custom, to make the eldest of the children king; but they knew not which to choose, since they were alike, and of equal size. Being unable to determine, they then, or perhaps before, asked the mother; she replied, "that she herself was unable to distinguish:" she said this, although she knew very well, but was desirous, if it were possible, that both should be made kings. That the Lacedæmonians were consequently in

⁸ Crius signifies "a ram."

doubt, and being in doubt, sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle what they should do in the matter. *They add*, that the Pythian bade them consider both the children as kings; but to honour the eldest most: this answer the Pythian gave them; but the Lacedæmonians, being still in doubt how they should discover the eldest of them, a Messenian, whose name was Panites, made a suggestion to them: this Panites made the following suggestion to the Lacedæmonians, to observe which of the two children the mother would wash and feed first; and if she should be found constantly doing the same, they would then have all they were seeking for and desired to know; but if she should vary, attending to them interchangeably, it would be evident to them that she knew no more than they did; and then they must have recourse to some other expedient. Thereupon the Spartans, in pursuance of the suggestion of the Messenian, having watched the mother of Aristodemus's children, discovered that she constantly gave one the preference both in feeding and washing, she not knowing why she was watched. Therefore considering that the child which was honoured by its mother was the eldest, they educated it in the palace; and to him the name of Eurysthenes was given, and to the younger, Procles. They say that both these, though brothers, when they had reached manhood, were at variance with each other throughout the whole course of their lives; and that their descendants continued to be so. 53. The Lacedæmonians alone of the Grecians give this account: but I now describe these things in the way they are told by the rest of the Grecians. For they say that these kings of the Dorians up to Perseus, son of Danae, the deity being omitted, are rightly enumerated by the Greeks, and are proved to have been Greeks; for even at that time they were ranked among the Greeks: I have said, up to Perseus, for this reason, and have not carried it any higher, because no surname of any mortal father is attributed to Perseus, as Amphitryon to Hercules. I have therefore with good reason, and correctly, said up to Perseus; but if we reckon their progenitors upwards from Danae, daughter of Acrisius, the leaders of the Dorians will prove to have been originally Egyptians. Such is the genealogy according to the account of the Greeks. 54. But as the account of the Persians is given, Perseus himself, being an Assyrian, became a Greek, though the ancestors of Perseus

had not been so ; but that the progenitors of Acrisius, being in no way related to Perseus, were Egyptians, as the Greeks also say. 55. Let this then suffice for this subject. But why, being Egyptians, and by what exploits, they obtained the sovereignty of the Dorians, I will omit to mention, as others have spoken of these matters. But such particulars as others have not taken in hand, of these I will make mention.

56. The Spartans have given the following privileges to their kings: two priesthoods, that of the Lacedæmonian Jupiter, and that of the Celestial Jupiter ; and to levy war against whatever country they please ; and no one of the Spartans may impede this, otherwise he falls under a curse: when they march out to war, the kings go first, and retire last ; and a hundred chosen men guard them in the field: during the expeditions, they sacrifice as many cattle as they please, and take as their own share the skins and chins of all the victims. These are their privileges in time of war. 57. The others, those during peace, have been given them as follows. If any one make a public sacrifice the kings sit first at the feast, and are first served, each receiving double of whatever is given to the other guests. They have the right of beginning the libations, and are entitled to the skins of the cattle that are sacrificed. At every new moon, and on the seventh day of the current month, a perfect victim is presented to each of them, at the public charge, for the temple of Apollo ; and a medimnus of meal, and a Laconian quart of wine. At all public games they have seats appointed by way of distinction ; and it is their prerogative to appoint such citizens as they please to be Proxeni ;⁹ and also to choose each two Pythii. The Pythii are persons who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained with the kings at the public charge. When the kings do not come to the banquet, two choenices of flour and a cotyle of wine are sent home to each of them ; but when they are present, a double portion of every thing is given them ; and when invited to a banquet by private persons, they are honoured in the same manner. They have the keeping of the oracles that are pronounced, but the Pythii are also privy to them. The kings alone have to determine the following matters only: with respect to a virgin heiress, who is to marry her, if her

⁹ Officers appointed to receive and entertain foreign ambassadors.

father has not betrothed her ; and with respect to the public highways ; and if any one desires to adopt a son, it must be done in presence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senators, who are twenty-eight in number ; and if they do not attend, those of the senators who are most nearly connected with them enjoy the privileges of the kings, giving two votes, and a third, their own. 58. These privileges are given to the kings by the commonwealth of the Spartans during life ; and when they die, the following. Horsemen announce through all Laconia what has happened ; and women, going through the city, beat a cauldron ; when this accordingly is done, it is necessary for two free people of each house, a man and a woman, to make themselves squalid in token of grief ; and if they neglect to do so, heavy fines are imposed on them. The Lacedæmonians have the same custom with regard to the deaths of their kings, as the barbarians in Asia ; for most of the barbarians observe the same custom with respect to the deaths of their kings. For when a king of the Lacedæmonians dies, it is required that from the whole territory of Lacedæmon, besides the Spartans, a certain number of the neighbouring inhabitants should of necessity attend the funeral : when accordingly many thousands of these, and of the Helots and of the Spartans themselves, have assembled together in one place, they promiscuously with the women strike their foreheads vehemently, and give themselves up to unbounded lamentation, affirming that the king who died last was the best they ever had. Should one of their kings die in war, having prepared his effigy, they expose it to public view on a couch richly ornamented ; and when they have buried him, no assembly takes place for ten days, nor is a meeting held for the election of magistrates, but they mourn during those days. 59. They also resemble the Persians in this other respect : when on the death of a king another king is appointed, he, on his accession, releases whatever debts may be due from any Spartan to the king or the public ; and so among the Persians, a newly-appointed king remits to all the cities the arrears of tribute then due. 60. In this respect also the Lacedæmonians resemble the Egyptians : their heralds, musicians, and cooks, succeed to their fathers' professions ; so that a musician is son of a musician, a cook of a cook, and a herald of a herald ; nor do others on account of the clearness of their

voice apply themselves *to this profession* and exclude others ; but they continue to practise it after their fathers. These things, then, are so.

61. At that time, therefore, while Cleomenes was at Ægina, and co-operating for the common good of Greece, Demaratus accused him ; not so much caring for the Æginetæ, as moved by envy and hatred. But Cleomenes, having returned from Ægina, formed a plan to deprive Demaratus of the sovereignty, getting a handle against him by means of the following circumstance. When Ariston reigned in Sparta, and had married two wives, he had no children ; and as he did not acknowledge himself to be the cause of this, he married a third wife ; and he married her in this manner. He had a friend, who was a Spartan, to whom he was more attached than to any other of the citizens. The wife of this man happened to be by far the most beautiful of all the women in Sparta, and this moreover, having become the most beautiful from being the most ugly. For her nurse perceiving that she was misshapen, and knowing her to be the daughter of opulent persons, and deformed, and seeing moreover that her parents considered her form a great misfortune, considering these several circumstances, devised the following plan. She carried her every day to the temple of Helen, which is in the place called Therapne, above the temple of Phœbus. When the nurse brought the child there, she stood before the image, and entreated the goddess to free the child from its deformity. And it is related, that one day as the nurse was going out of the temple, a woman appeared to her, and having appeared, asked what she was carrying in her arms ; and she answered, that she was carrying an infant ; whereupon she bid her show it to her, but the nurse refused, for she had been forbidden by the parents to show the child to any one ; the woman however urged her by all means to show it to her, and the nurse, seeing that the woman was so very anxious to see the child, at length showed it ; upon which she, stroking the head of the child with her hands, said that she would surpass all the women of Sparta in beauty ; and from that day her appearance began to change. When she reached the age for marriage, Agetus, son of Alcides, married her ; this, then, was the friend of Ariston.

62. Now love for this woman excited Ariston ; he therefore had recourse to the following stratagem. He promised he

would give his friend, whose wife this woman was, a present of any one thing he should choose out of all his possessions, and required his friend in return to do the like to him. He, having no apprehension on account of his wife, seeing that Ariston already had a wife, assented to the proposal; and they imposed oaths on each other on these terms. Accordingly Ariston himself gave the thing, whatever it was, which Agetus chose out of all his treasures; and himself claiming to obtain the same compliance from him, thereupon attempted to carry off his wife with him. Agetus said that he had assented to any thing but this only; nevertheless, being compelled by his oath, and circumvented by deceit, he suffered him to take her away with him. 63. Thus, then, Ariston took to himself a third wife, having put away the second. But in too short a time, and before she had completed her ten months, this woman bore Demaratus; and as he was sitting on the bench with the Ephori, one of his servants announced to him that a son was born to him; but he, knowing the time at which he married the woman, and reckoning the months on his fingers, said with an oath, "It cannot be mine." This the Ephori heard. However, at the time, they took no notice. The child grew up, and Ariston repented of what he had said, for he was fully persuaded that Demaratus was his son. He gave him the name of Demaratus for this reason; before this the Spartans had made public supplications, that Ariston, whom they esteemed the most illustrious of all the kings that had ever reigned in Sparta, might have a son. For this reason the name of Demaratus¹ was given to him. 64. In process of time Ariston died, and Demaratus obtained the sovereignty. But it was fated, as it appears, that these things, when made known, should occasion the deposition of Demaratus from the sovereignty, for Demaratus had incurred the hatred of Cleomenes, because he had before led away the army from Eleusis,² and now more particularly when Cleomenes had crossed over against those Æginetæ, who were inclined to Medism. 65. Cleomenes then, being eager to avenge himself, made a compact with Leutychides, son of Menares, son of Agis, who was of the same family with Demaratus, on condition, that if he should make him king instead of Demaratus,

¹ Demaratus means "granted to the prayers of the people."

² See B. V. chap. 75.

he should accompany him against the Æginetæ. Leutychides had become an enemy to Demaratus, chiefly for this reason. When Leutychides was affianced to Percalus, daughter of Chilon, son of Demarmenes, Demaratus, having plotted against him, disappointed Leutychides of his marriage; having himself anticipated him by seizing Percalus and retaining her as his wife. In this manner the enmity of Leutychides to Demaratus originated, and now, at the instigation of Cleomenes, Leutychides made oath against Demaratus, affirming "that he did not legitimately reign over the Spartans, not being the son of Ariston;" and after making oath against him, he prosecuted him, recalling the words which Ariston spoke, when the servant announced that a son was born to him, whereupon, he, reckoning the months, denied with an oath, saying, "that it was not his." Leutychides, insisting on this declaration, maintained that Demaratus was neither the son of Ariston, nor rightful king of Sparta; and he adduced as witnesses those Ephori, who were then sitting by the king, and heard these words of Ariston. 66. At length, the matter coming to a trial,³ the Spartans determined to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, "whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston." But the matter being referred to the Pythian at the instance of Cleomenes, Cleomenes thereupon gained over one Cobon, son of Aristophantus, a man of very great influence at Delphi: and Cobon prevailed with Perialla the prophetess to say what Cleomenes wished to be said. The Pythian accordingly, when the persons sent to consult the oracle made the inquiry, decided that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. In after time this came to be known, and Cobon fled from Delphi, and Perialla the prophetess was deposed from her office.

67. Thus, then, it happened with respect to the deposition of Demaratus from the sovereignty. But Demaratus fled from Sparta to the Medes on account of the following insult. After his deposition from the sovereignty, he was chosen to and held the office of magistrate. The Gymnopædiæ⁴ were being celebrated; and, when Demaratus was looking on, Leutychides, who had been appointed king in his room, sent a servant and

³ Baehr has pointed out the proper meaning of the word νεῖκος in this passage.

⁴ An annual festival at Sparta, at which boys danced naked, and performed various athletic exercises.

asked him, by way of ridicule and mockery, "what kind of thing it was to be a magistrate after having been a king?" But he, being vexed with the question, answered, "that he indeed had tried both, but Leutyichides had not; however, that this question would be the commencement either of infinite calamity or infinite prosperity to the Lacedæmonians." Having spoken thus and covered his face, he went out of the theatre to his own house; and having immediately made preparation, he sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, and having sacrificed, called for his mother. 68. When his mother came, he placed part of the entrails in her hands, and supplicated her, speaking as follows: "Mother, I beseech you, calling to witness both the rest of the gods, and this Hercæan Jupiter, to tell me the truth, who is in reality my father. For Leutyichides affirmed on the trial, that you being pregnant by your former husband, so came to Ariston; others tell even a more idle story, and say, you kept company with one of the servants, a feeder of asses, and that I am his son. I adjure you therefore by the gods to speak the truth: for even if you have done any thing of what is said, you have not done it alone, but with many others; moreover, the report is common in Sparta, that Ariston was incapable of begetting children, for that otherwise his former wives would have had offspring." Thus he spoke. 69. She answered as follows: "Son, since you implore me with supplications to speak the truth, the whole truth shall be told you. When Ariston had taken me to his own house, on the third night from the first, a spectre resembling Ariston came to me; and having lain with me, put on me a crown that it had: it departed, and afterwards Ariston came; but when he saw me with the crown, he asked who it was that gave it me. I said, he did; but he would not admit it; whereupon I took an oath, and said that he did not well to deny it, for that having come shortly before and lain with me, he had given me the crown. Ariston, seeing that I affirmed with an oath, discovered that the event was superhuman: and in the first place, the crown proved to have come from the shrine situate near the palace gates, which they call Astrabacus's; and in the next place, the seers pronounced that it was the hero himself. Thus, then, my son, you have all that you wish to know: for you are sprung either from that hero, and the hero Astrabacus is your father, or Ariston; for I conceived you in that night.

As to that with which your enemies most violently attack you, affirming that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced to him, in the presence of many persons, denied you were his, for that the time, ten months, had not yet elapsed ; he threw out those words through ignorance of such matters ; for women bring forth at nine months and seven, and all do not complete ten months. But I bore you, my son, at seven months : and Ariston himself knew, not long after, that he had uttered those words thoughtlessly. Do not listen to any other stories respecting your birth ; for you have heard the whole truth. And from feeders of asses may their wives bring forth children to Leutychides, and such as spread such reports." Thus she spoke. 70. But he, having learnt what he wished, and having taken provisions for his journey, proceeded to Elis ; pretending that he was going to Delphi, to consult the oracle. But the Lacedæmonians, suspecting that he was attempting to make his escape, pursued him : and by some means Demaratus got the start of them, crossing over from Elis to Zacynthus : but the Lacedæmonians, having crossed over after him, laid hands on him, and took away his attendants. But afterwards, for the Zacynthians would not give him up, he crossed over from thence to Asia, to king Darius ; and he received him honourably, and gave him land and cities. Thus Demaratus arrived in Asia, having met with such fortune ; being renowned in many other respects among the Lacedæmonians, both by his deeds and counsels, and, moreover, having obtained an Olympic victory with a four-horse chariot, he procured this honour *for his native city*, being the only one of all the kings of Sparta who had done this.

71. Leutychides, son of Menares, when Demaratus was deposed, succeeded to the kingdom. A son was born to him named Zeuxidemus, whom some of the Spartans called Cyniscus. This Zeuxidemus was never king of Sparta ; for he died before Leutychides, leaving a son, Archidamus. Leutychides being bereaved of Zeuxidemus, married a second wife, Eurydame, who was sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactorides ; by her he had no male offspring, but a daughter, Lampito ; her, Archidamus son of Zeuxidemus married, Leutychides having bestowed her upon him. 72. However, Leutychides did not grow old in Sparta, but made the following reparation as it were to Demaratus. He commanded the

Lacedæmonian army in Thessaly, and when it was in his power to have reduced the whole country to subjection, he accepted a large sum of money as a bribe ; and being caught in the very act, sitting there in the camp on a sleeve full of silver, he was banished from Sparta, having been brought before a court of justice. His house was rased, and he fled to Tegea, where he died. These events happened some time after.

73. When Cleomenes had succeeded in his design against Demaratus, he immediately took Leutychides with him, and went against the Æginetæ, bearing a deep grudge against them on account of the insult he had received. The Æginetæ accordingly thought proper to make no further resistance ; as both kings were coming against them, they therefore, having selected ten of the Æginetæ, the most eminent both in wealth and birth, and amongst them Crius, son of Polycritus, and Casambus, son of Aristocrates, who had the chief authority, and having carried them away to Attica, they delivered them as a pledge to the Athenians, the greatest enemies of the Æginetæ. 74. After this, fear of the Spartans seized upon Cleomenes, when discovered to have employed wicked artifices against Demaratus, and he withdrew secretly to Thessaly ; and from thence passing into Arcadia, he began to form new designs, rousing the Arcadians against Sparta, and engaging them both by other oaths to follow him wherever he should lead them ; and, moreover, he was desirous of leading the chief men of the Arcadians to the city of Nonacris, to make them swear by the water of the Styx, for in that city the water of the Styx is by the Arcadians said to be. And it is of the following description : a small quantity of water is seen and drops from a rock into a hollow, and a fence of masonry surrounds the hollow. Nonacris, in which this fountain happens to be, is a city of Arcadia near Pheneum. 75. The Lacedæmonians, being informed that Cleomenes was acting thus, through fear, restored him to Sparta on the same terms as those on which he had reigned before. But as soon as he had returned, madness seized him, though he was before somewhat crazed ; for whenever he met any one of the Spartans, he used to thrust the sceptre into his face. When he was found to do this, and to be clearly out of his mind, his relations confined him in wooden fetters : but he

being so confined, and seeing a single guard left alone by the rest, asked for a knife; and when the guard at first refused to give it, he threatened what he would do to him hereafter; till at last the guard, fearing his threats, for he was one of his Helots, gave him a knife. Then Cleomenes, having got hold of the blade, began to mutilate himself from the legs, for having cut the flesh lengthwise, he proceeded from the legs to the thighs; and from the thighs to the hips and loins; at last he came to the belly, and having gashed this, in that manner he died: as most of the Grecians say, because he persuaded the Pythian to say what she did concerning Demaratus; but as the Athenians alone say, because when he invaded Eleusis he cut down the grove of the goddesses;⁵ but as the Argives say, because he, having called out those Argives who had fled from battle, from their sacred precinct of Argus, he massacred them, and holding the grove itself in contempt, set it on fire.

76. For when Cleomenes consulted the oracle at Delphi, an answer was given him that he should take Argos. When therefore, leading the Spartans, he arrived at the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake, for that this lake, discharging itself into an unseen chasm, reappears in Argos, and from that place this water is, by the Argives, called Erasinus: Cleomenes therefore, having arrived at this river, offered sacrifice to it; but as the victims by no means gave a favourable omen for his passing over, he said, that he admired the Erasinus for not betraying its people, yet the Argives should not even thus escape with impunity. After this, having retired, he marched his forces to Thyrea; and having sacrificed a bull to the sea, he conveyed them in ships to the Tirynthian territory and Nauplia. 77. The Argives, being informed of this, went out to meet them on the coast: and when they were near Tiryns, at that place to which the name of Sepia is given, they encamped opposite the Lacedæmonians, leaving no great space between the two armies. There, then, they were not afraid of coming to a pitched battle, but lest they should be taken by stratagem; for it was to this event the oracle had reference, which the Pythian pronounced in common to them and the Milesians,⁶ running thus: "When the female, having conquered the male, shall drive him out, and obtain

⁵ Ceres and Proserpine.

⁶ For the part of the oracle relating to the Milesians, see chap. 19.

glory among the Argives, then shall she make many of the Argive women rend their garments; so that one of future generations shall say, a terrible triple-coiled serpent has perished, overcome by the spear." All these things concurring, spread alarm among the Argives, therefore they resolved to avail themselves of the herald of the enemy; and having so resolved, they did as follows: when the Spartan herald gave any signal to the Lacedæmonians, the Argives did the same. 78. Cleomenes, having observed that the Argives did whatever his herald gave the signal for, ordered his troops, when the herald should give the signal for going to dinner, then to seize their arms, and advance against the Argives. This, accordingly, was accomplished by the Lacedæmonians, for they fell upon the Argives as they were taking their dinner, according to the herald's signal; and they killed many of them, and a far greater number, who had taken refuge in the grove of Argus, they surrounded and kept watch over. 79. Cleomenes then adopted the following course: having some deserters with him, and having received information from them, he sent a herald and called them out, summoning by name those Argives who were shut up in the sacred precinct; and he called them out, saying that he had received their ransom; but the ransom among the Peloponnesians is a fixed sum of two minæ to be paid for each prisoner. Cleomenes therefore, having called them out severally, put to death about fifty of the Argives; and somehow this went on unknown to the rest who were within the precinct; for as the grove was thick, those within did not see those without, or what they were doing, until at last one of them getting up into a tree, saw what was being done. They therefore no more went out when called for. 80. Thereupon Cleomenes ordered all the Helots to heap up wood around the grove, and when they had executed his orders, he set fire to the grove. When all was in a flame, he asked one of the deserters to which of the gods the grove belonged; he said that it belonged to Argus. Cleomenes, when he heard this, uttering a deep groan, said, "O prophetic Apollo! thou hast indeed greatly deceived me, in saying that I should take Argos. I conjecture thy prophecy is accomplished." 81. After this, Cleomenes sent away the greater part of his army to Sparta; and he himself, taking a thousand chosen men with him, went

to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno. But when he wished himself to offer sacrifice on the altar, the priest forbad him, saying that it was not lawful for a stranger to offer sacrifice there; upon which Cleomenes commanded the Helots to drag the priest from the altar and scourge him, while he himself sacrificed; and having done this, he went away to Sparta. 82. On his return, his enemies accused him before the Ephori, alleging that he had been bribed not to take Argos, when he might easily have taken it. He said to them, whether speaking falsely or truly I am unable to say for certain; he affirmed, however, "that when he had taken the sacred precinct of Argus, he thought that the oracle of the god was accomplished, and therefore he did not think it right to attempt the city, before he had had recourse to victims, and ascertained whether the god would favour or obstruct him; and that whilst he was sacrificing favourably in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire shone forth from the breast of the image; and thus he learnt for certain that he should not take Argos: for if it had shone forth from the head of the image, he should have taken the city completely; but as it shone forth from the breast, he thought that every thing had been done by him which the deity wished to happen." In saying this, he appeared to the Spartans to say what was credible and reasonable, and was acquitted by a large majority. 83. Argos however was left so destitute of men, that their slaves had the management of affairs, ruling and administering them, until the sons of those who had been killed grew up. Then they, having recovered Argos, expelled the slaves; and the slaves, being driven out, took Tiryns by assault. For a time concord subsisted between them, but then there came to the slaves one Cleander, a prophet, who was by birth a Phigalean of Arcadia; he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. From this circumstance there was war between them for a long time, till at last the Argives with difficulty got the upper hand.

84. Now the Argives say, that on this account Cleomenes became mad and perished miserably. But the Spartans themselves say, that Cleomenes became mad from no divine influence, but that by associating with the Scythians he became a drinker of unmixed wine, and from that cause became mad. For that the Scythian nomades, since Darius had invaded their country, were afterwards desirous to take vengeance

ance on him, and having sent to Sparta to make an alliance, and agree that the Scythians themselves should endeavour to make an irruption into Media near the river Phasis, and to urge the Spartans to set out from Ephesus, and march upwards; and then for both armies to meet at the same place. They say, that Cleomenes, when the Scythians came for this purpose, associated with them too intimately; and being more intimate with them than was proper, contracted from them a habit of drinking unmixed wine; and the Spartans think that he became mad from this cause. And from that time, as they themselves say, when they wish to drink stronger drink, they say, "Pour out like a Scythian." Thus, then, the Spartans speak concerning Cleomenes. But Cleomenes appears to me to have suffered this retribution on account of Demaratus.

85. When the Æginetæ were informed of the death of Cleomenes, they sent ambassadors to Sparta to complain loudly against Leutychides, on account of the hostages detained at Athens: and the Lacedæmonians, having assembled a court of judicature, determined that the Æginetæ had been very much injured by Leutychides, and condemned him to be delivered up and taken to Ægina, in the place of the men who were detained at Athens. But when the Æginetæ were about to take Leutychides away, Theasides, son of Leoprepes, an eminent man in Sparta, said to them, "Men of Ægina, what are you going to do, to take away the king of the Spartans, who has been delivered into your hands by the citizens? If the Spartans, yielding to anger, have so decided, take care lest, if you do these things, they hereafter pour into your country a calamity which will utterly destroy you." The Æginetæ having heard this, refrained from taking him away; and came to this agreement, that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and restore the men to the Æginetæ. 86. When Leutychides, on his arrival at Athens, demanded back the pledges, the Athenians had recourse to evasions, not wishing to give them up; and said, that two kings had deposited them, and it would not be right to deliver them up to one without the other. When the Athenians refused to give them up, Leutychides addressed them as follows: "O Athenians, do whichever you yourselves wish; for if you deliver them up, you will do what is just,

and if you do not deliver them up, the contrary. I will, however, tell you what once happened in Sparta respecting a deposit. We Spartans say, that about three generations before my time, there lived in Lacedæmon one Glaucus, son of Epicydes: we relate that this man both attained to the first rank in all other respects, and also bore the highest character for justice of all who at that time dwelt at Lacedæmon. We say that in due time the following events befel him. A certain Milesian, having come to Sparta, wished to have a conference with him, and made the following statement: 'I am a Milesian, and am come, Glaucus, with the desire of profiting by your justice. For since throughout all the rest of Greece, and particularly in Ionia, there was great talk of your justice, I considered with myself that Ionia is continually exposed to great dangers, and that on the contrary Peloponnesus is securely situated, and consequently that *with us* one can never see the same persons retaining property. Having, therefore, reflected and deliberated on these things, I have determined to change half of my whole substance into silver and deposit it with you, being well assured that, being placed with you, it will be safe. Do you, then, take this money, and preserve these tokens; and whosoever possessing these shall demand it back again, restore it to him.' (2.) The stranger who came from Miletus spoke thus. But Glaucus received the deposit, on the condition mentioned. After a long time had elapsed, the sons of this man who had deposited the money, came to Sparta, and having addressed themselves to Glaucus, and shown the tokens, demanded back the money. Glaucus repulsed them, answering as follows: I neither remember the matter, nor does it occur to me that I know any of the circumstances you mention; but if I can recall it to my mind, I am willing to do every thing that is just; and if indeed I have received it, *I wish* to restore it correctly; but if I have not received it at all, I shall have recourse to the laws of the Greeks against you. I therefore defer settling this matter with you for four months from the present time. (3.) The Milesians, accordingly, considering it a great calamity, departed, as being deprived of their money. But Glaucus went to Delphi to consult the oracle; and when he asked the oracle whether he should make a booty of the money by an oath, the Pythian assailed him in the following

words : 'Glaucus, son of Epicydes, thus to prevail by an oath, and to make a booty of the money, will be a present gain : swear, then ; for death even awaits the man who keeps his oath. But there is a nameless son of Perjury, who has neither hands nor feet ; he pursues swiftly, until, having seized, he destroys the whole race, and all the house. But the race of a man who keeps his oath is afterwards more blessed.' Glaucus, having heard this, entreated the god to pardon the words he had spoken. But the Pythian said, that to tempt the god, and to commit the crime, were the same thing. Glaucus, therefore, having sent for the Milesian strangers, restored them the money. With what design this story has been told you, O Athenians, shall now be mentioned. There is at present not a single descendant of Glaucus, nor any house which is supposed to have belonged to Glaucus ; but he is utterly extirpated from Sparta. Thus it is right to have no other thought concerning a deposit, than to restore it when it is demanded." Leutychides having said this, but finding the Athenians did not even then listen to him, departed.

87. But the Æginetæ, before they received punishment for the injuries they had done to the Athenians, to gratify the Thebans,⁷ acted as follows. Being offended with the Athenians, and thinking themselves injured, they prepared to revenge themselves on the Athenians : and as the Athenians happened to have a five-benched galley at Sunium, they formed an ambuscade and took the ship Theoris,⁸ filled with the principal Athenians ; and having taken the men, they put them in chains. 88. The Athenians, having been treated thus by the Æginetæ, no longer delayed to devise all sorts of plans against them. Now there was in Ægina an eminent man named Nicodromus, son of Cnœthus ; he being incensed against the Æginetæ on account of his former banishment from the island, and now hearing that the Athenians were preparing to do a mischief to the Æginetæ, entered into an agreement with the Athenians for the betrayal of Ægina, mentioning on what day he would make the attempt, and on what it would be necessary for them to come to his assistance.

⁷ See B. V. ch. 80, 81.

⁸ The Theoris was a vessel which was sent every year to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo.

After this Nicodromus, according to his agreement with the Athenians, seized that which is called the old town. 89. The Athenians, however, did not arrive at the proper time, for they happened not to have a sufficient number of ships to engage with the Æginetæ; and while they were entreating the Corinthians to furnish them with ships, their plan was ruined. The Corinthians, for they were then on very friendly terms with them, at their request supplied the Athenians with twenty ships; and they furnished them, letting them to hire for five drachmæ for each; because by their laws they were forbidden to give them for nothing. The Athenians, therefore, having taken these and their own, manned seventy ships in all, and sailed to Ægina, and arrived one day after that agreed upon. 90. Nicodromus, when the Athenians did not arrive at the proper time, embarked on ship-board and made his escape from Ægina; and others of the Æginetæ accompanied him, to whom the Athenians gave Sunium for a habitation; and they, sallying from thence, plundered the Æginetæ in the island. This, however, happened subsequently. 91. In the mean time the most wealthy of the Æginetæ overpowered the common people, who, together with Nicodromus, had revolted against them, and afterwards, having subdued them, they led them out to execution. And on this occasion they incurred a guilt, which they were unable to expiate by any contrivance; but they were ejected out of the island, before the goddess became propitious to them. For having taken seven hundred of the common people prisoners, they led them out to execution; and one of them, having escaped from his bonds, fled to the porch of Ceres the lawgiver, and seizing the door-handle, held it fast: but they, when they were unable by dragging to tear him away, cut off his hands, and so took him away; and the hands were left sticking on the door-handles. 92. Thus, then, the Æginetæ treated their own people. But when the Athenians arrived with their seventy ships, they came to an engagement, and being conquered in the sea-fight, they called on the same persons as before for assistance, *that is*, on the Argives. They, however, would not any longer succour them, but complained that the ships of the Æginetæ, having been forcibly seized by Cleomenes, had touched on the territory of Argos, and the crews had disembarked with the Lacedæmonians. Some

men had also disembarked from Sicyonian ships in the same invasion; and a penalty was imposed upon them by the Argives, to pay a thousand talents, five hundred each. The Sicyonians, accordingly, acknowledging that they had acted unjustly, made an agreement to pay one hundred talents, and be free from the rest; but the Æginetæ would not own themselves in the wrong, and were very obstinate. On this account, therefore, none of the Argives were sent by the commonwealth to assist them; but, on their request, volunteers *went* to the number of a thousand: a general, whose name was Eurybates, and who had practised for the pentathlon, led them: the greater number of these never returned home, but were slain by the Athenians in Ægina. The general, Eurybates, engaging in single combat, killed three several antagonists in that manner, but was slain by the fourth, Sophanes of Decelea. 93. The Æginetæ, however, having attacked the fleet of the Athenians, when they were in disorder, obtained a victory, and took four of their ships with the men on board.

94. War was accordingly kindled between the Athenians and Æginetæ. But the Persian pursued his own design, for the servant continually reminded him to remember the Athenians, and the Pisistratidæ constantly importuned him and accused the Athenians; and at the same time Darius, laying hold of this pretext, was desirous of subduing those people of Greece who had refused to give him earth and water. He therefore dismissed Mardonius from his command, because he had succeeded ill in his expedition; and having appointed other generals, he sent them against Eretria and Athens, *namely*, Datis, who was a Mede by birth, and Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, his own nephew; and he despatched them with strict orders, having enslaved Athens and Eretria, to bring the bondsmen into his presence. 95. When these generals who were appointed left the king, and reached the Aleian plain of Cilicia, bringing with them a numerous and well-equipped army, while they were there encamped the whole naval force required from each people came up: the horse-transporters were also present, which Darius in the preceding year had commanded his tributaries to prepare. Having put the horses on board of these, and having embarked the land-forces in the ships, they sailed for Ionia with six hundred

triremes. From thence they did not steer their ships along the continent direct towards the Hellespont and Thrace; but parting from Samos they directed their course across the Icarian sea, and through the islands; as appears to me, chiefly, dreading the circumnavigation of Athos, because in the preceding year, in attempting a passage that way, they had sustained great loss; and besides, Naxos compelled them, not having been before captured. 96. When, being carried out of the Icarian sea, they arrived off Naxos, (for the Persians, bearing in mind what had formerly happened,⁹ purposed to attack this place first,) the Naxians fled to the mountains, and did not await their approach: the Persians, therefore, having seized as many of them as they could lay hold of, as slaves, set fire to both the sacred buildings and the city; and having done this, they proceeded against the rest of the islands.

97. While they were doing this, the Delians also, abandoning Delos, fled to Tenos; but as the fleet was sailing down towards it, Datis, having sailed forward, would not permit the ships to anchor near the island, but further on, off Rhenea; and he, having ascertained where the Delians were, sent a herald and addressed them as follows: "Sacred men, why have you fled, forming an unfavourable opinion of me? For both I myself have so much wisdom, and am so ordered by the king, that in the region where the two deities¹ were born, no harm should be done either to the country itself or its inhabitants. Return, therefore, to your houses, and resume possession of the island." This message he sent to the Delians by means of a herald; and afterwards having heaped up three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar, he burnt it. 98. Datis, accordingly, having done this, sailed with the army first against Eretria, taking with him both Ionians and Æolians. But after he had put out to sea from thence, Delos was shaken by an earthquake, as the Delians say, the first and last time that it was so affected to my time. And the deity assuredly by this portent intimated to men the evils that were about to befall them. For during the reigns of Darius, son of Hystaspes, of Xerxes, son of Darius, and of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes; during these three successive

⁹ See B. V. ch. 34.

¹ Apollo and Diana.

generations, more disasters befel Greece than during the twenty generations that preceded the time of Darius; partly brought upon it by the Persians, and partly by the chief men amongst them contending for power. So that it is nothing improbable that Delos should be moved at that time, having been until then unmoved: and in an oracle respecting it, it had been thus written: "I will move even Delos, although hitherto unmoved." And in the Grecian language these names mean, — Darius, "one who restrains;" Xerxes, "a warrior;" and Artaxerxes, "a mighty warrior." Thus, then, the Greeks may rightly designate these kings in their language.

99. The barbarians, after they had parted from Delos, touched at the islands; and from thence they took with them men to serve in the army, and carried away the sons of the islanders for hostages. And when, having sailed round the islands, they touched at Carystus, as the Carystians would not give hostages, and refused to bear arms against their neighbouring cities, meaning Eretria and Athens, they thereupon besieged them, and ravaged their country, until at last the Carystians also submitted to the will of the Persians. 100. The Eretrians, being informed that the Persian armament was sailing against them, entreated the Athenians to assist them; and the Athenians did not refuse their aid, but gave them as auxiliaries those four thousand men to whom had been allotted the territory of the horse-feeding Chalcidians.² But the councils of the Eretrians were not at all sound: they sent for the Athenians indeed, but held divided opinions; for some of them proposed to abandon the city, *and to retire* to the fastnesses of Eubœa; but others of them, hoping that they should derive gain to themselves from the Persians, were planning to betray their country. But Æschines, son of Nothion, a man of rank among the Eretrians, being informed of the views of both parties, communicated to the Athenians, who had come, the whole state of their affairs; and entreated them to return to their own country, lest they too should perish. The Athenians followed this advice of Æschines, and having crossed over to Oropus, saved themselves. 101. In the mean time the Persians, sailing on, directed their ships' course to Tamynæ, Chœrea, and Ægilia, of the Eretrian territory; and having

² See B. V. ch. 77.

taken possession of these places, they immediately disembarked the horses, and made preparations to attack the enemy. But the Eretrians had no thoughts of going out against them and fighting, but since that opinion had prevailed, that they should not abandon the city, their only care now was, if by any means they could defend the walls. A violent attack on the walls ensuing, for six days many fell on both sides; but on the seventh, Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, and Philargus, son of Cyneus, men of rank among the citizens, betrayed the city to the Persians. But they, having gained entrance into the city, in the first place pillaged and set fire to the temples, in revenge for those that had been burnt at Sardis; and in the next, they enslaved the inhabitants, in obedience to the commands of Darius.

102. Having subdued Eretria, and rested a few days, they sailed to Attica, pressing them very close, and expecting to treat the Athenians in the same way as they had the Eretrians. Now as Marathon was the spot in Attica best adapted for cavalry, and nearest to Eretria, Hippias, son of Pisistratus, conducted them there. 103. But the Athenians, when they heard of this, also sent their forces to Marathon: and ten generals led them, of whom the tenth was Miltiades, whose father, Cimon,³ son of Stesagoras, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates. During his exile, it was his good fortune to obtain the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot race, and having gained this victory, he transferred the honour to Miltiades, his brother by the same mother; and afterwards, in the next Olympiad, being victorious with the same mares, he permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor; and having conceded the victory to him, he returned home under terms. And after he had gained another Olympic prize with these same mares, it happened that he died by the hands of the sons of Pisistratus, when Pisistratus himself was no longer alive: they slew him near the Prytaneum, having placed men to waylay him by night. Cimon was buried in front of the city, beyond that which is called the road through Cœla, and opposite him these same mares were buried, which won the three Olympic prizes. Other mares also had already done the same thing, belonging to Evagoras the Lacedæmonian; but besides these, none others. Stesagoras,

³ See ch. 39—41.

the elder of the sons of Cimon, was at that time being educated by his paternal uncle Miltiades, in the Chersonese, but the younger by Cimon himself at Athens, and he had the name of Miltiades, from Miltiades, the founder of the Chersonese. 104. At that time, then, this Miltiades, coming from the Chersonese, and having escaped a two-fold death, became general of the Athenians: for in the first place, the Phœnicians, having pursued him as far as Imbros, were exceedingly desirous of seizing him, and carrying him up to the king; and in the next, when he had escaped them, and had returned to his own country, and thought himself in safety, his enemies thereupon, having attacked him, and brought him before a court of justice, prosecuted him for tyranny in the Chersonese. But having escaped these also, he was at length appointed general of the Athenians, being chosen by the people.

105. And first, while the generals were yet in the city, they despatched a herald to Sparta, one Phidippides, an Athenian, who was a courier by profession, one who attended to this very business. This man, then, as Phidippides himself said and reported to the Athenians, Pan met near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea; and Pan, calling out the name of Phidippides, bade him ask the Athenians why they paid no attention to him, who was well inclined to the Athenians, and had often been useful to them, and would be so hereafter. The Athenians, therefore, as their affairs were then in a prosperous condition, believed that this was true, and erected a temple to Pan beneath the Acropolis, and in consequence of that message they propitiate Pan with yearly sacrifices and the torch race. 106. This Phidippides, being sent by the generals at that time when he said Pan appeared to him, arrived in Sparta on the following day after his departure from the city of the Athenians, and on coming in presence of the magistrates, he said, "Lacedæmonians, the Athenians entreat you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient city among the Greeks to fall into bondage to barbarians: for Eretria is already reduced to slavery, and Greece has become weaker by the loss of a renowned city." He accordingly delivered the message according to his instructions, and they resolved indeed to assist the Athenians; but it was out of their power to do so immediately, as they were unwilling to violate the law: for it was the ninth day of the current

month; and they said they could not march out on the ninth day, the moon's circle not being full. They, therefore, waited for the full moon.

107. Meanwhile Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had led the barbarians to Marathon, having the preceding night seen the following vision in his sleep. Hippias fancied that he lay with his own mother; he inferred, therefore, from the dream, that having returned to Athens and recovered the sovereignty, he should die an old man in his own country. He drew this inference from the vision. At that time, as he was leading the way, he first of all landed the slaves from Eretria on the island of the Styreans, called Ægilia; and next he moored the ships as they came to Marathon, and drew up the barbarians as they disembarked on land: and as he was busied in doing this, it happened that he sneezed and coughed more violently than he was accustomed; and as he was far advanced in years, several of his teeth were loose, so that through the violence of his cough he threw out one of these teeth; and as it fell on the sand, he used every endeavour to find it, but when the tooth could no where be found, he drew a deep sigh, and said to the by-standers, "This country is not ours, nor shall we be able to subdue it; whatever share belongeth to me, my tooth possesses." Hippias accordingly inferred that his vision had been thus fulfilled.

108. When the Athenians were drawn up in a place sacred to Hercules, the Plataeans came to their assistance with all their forces. For the Plataeans had given themselves up to the Athenians, and the Athenians had already undergone many toils on their account: and they gave themselves up on the following occasion. The Plataeans, being hard pressed by the Thebans, first offered themselves to Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, and to the Lacedæmonians who happened to be present. They would not receive them, but addressed them as follows: "We live at too great a distance, and such assistance would be of little value to you; for you would often be enslaved before any of us could be informed of it. We advise you, therefore, to give yourselves up to the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and are not backward in assisting." The Lacedæmonians gave this advice, not so much from any good-will to the Plataeans, as from a desire that the Athenians might be subject to toil, by being set at variance with the

Bœotians. The Lacedæmonians, accordingly, gave this advice to the Platæans, and they did not disregard it, but when the Athenians were performing the sacred rites to the twelve gods, they sat down at the altar as suppliants, and delivered themselves up. But the Thebans, having heard of this, marched against the Platæans, and the Athenians went to assist; and as they were about to engage in battle, the Corinthians interfered; for happening to be present, and mediating between them, at the request of both parties, they prescribed the limits to the country in the following manner: that the Thebans should leave alone those of the Bœotians who did not wish to be ranked among the Bœotians. The Corinthians, having made this decision, returned home; but the Bœotians attacked the Athenians as they were departing, but having attacked them were worsted in the battle. The Athenians, therefore, passing beyond the limits which the Corinthians had fixed for the Platæans,—passing beyond these, they made the Asopus and Hysiaë to be the boundary between the Thebans and Platæans. The Platæans, therefore, gave themselves up to the Athenians in the manner above described; and at that time came to assist them at Marathon.

109. The opinions of the Athenian generals were divided; one party not consenting to engage, “because they were too few to engage with the army of the Medes;” and the others, among whom was Miltiades, urging them *to give battle*. When, therefore, they were divided, and the worst opinion was likely to prevail, thereupon, for there was an eleventh voter who was appointed minister of war among the Athenians, for the Athenians in ancient times gave the minister of war an equal vote with the generals, and at that time Callimachus of Aphidnæ was minister of war; to him, therefore, Miltiades came and spoke as follows: “It now depends on you, Callimachus, either to enslave Athens; or, by preserving its liberty, to leave a memorial of yourself to every age, such as not even Harmodius and Aristogiton have left. For the Athenians were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people. And if they succumb to the Medes, it has been determined what they are to suffer, when delivered up to Hippias; but if the city survives, it will become the first of the Grecian cities. How, then, this can be brought to pass, and how the power of deciding this matter depends

on you, I will now proceed to explain. The opinions of us generals, who are ten, are divided; the one party urging that we should engage; the other, that we should not engage. Now if we do not engage, I expect that some great dissension arising amongst us will shake the minds of the Athenians, so as to induce them to a compliance with the Medes. But if we engage before any dastardly thought arises in the minds of some of the Athenians, if the gods are impartial, we shall be able to get the better in the engagement. All these things, therefore, are now in your power, and entirely depend on you. For if you will support my opinion, your country will be free, and the city the first in Greece; but if you join with those who would dissuade us from an engagement, the contrary of the advantages I have enumerated will fall to your lot."

110. Miltiades, by these words, gained over Callimachus, and the opinion of the minister of war being added, it was determined to engage. Afterwards the generals whose opinions had been given to engage, as the command for the day devolved upon each of them, gave it up to Miltiades; but he, having accepted it, would not come to an engagement, before his own turn to command came.

111. When it came round to his turn, then the Athenians were drawn out in the following order for the purpose of engaging. The war-minister, Callimachus, commanded the right wing, for the law at that time was so settled among the Athenians, that the war-minister should have the right wing. He having this command, the tribes succeeded as they were usually reckoned, adjoining one another; but the Plateæans were drawn out last of all, occupying the left wing. Now, ever since that battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices and celebrate the public festivals which take place every five years, the Athenian herald prays, saying, "May blessings attend both the Athenians and the Plateæans." At that time, when the Athenians were drawn out at Marathon, the following was the case; their line was equal in extent to the Medic line, but the middle of it was but few deep, and there the line was weakest; but each wing was strong in numbers. 112. When they were thus drawn out, and the victims were favourable, thereupon the Athenians, as soon as they were ordered to charge, advanced against the barbarians in double-quick time; and the space between them was not less than eight stades. But the Persians,

seeing them charging at full speed, prepared to receive them ; and they imputed madness to them, and that utterly destructive, when they saw that they were few in number, and that they rushed on at full speed, though they had no cavalry, nor archers. So the barbarians surmised. The Athenians, however, when they engaged in close ranks with the barbarians, fought in a manner worthy of record. For they, the first of all the Greeks whom we know of, charged the enemy at full speed, and they first endured the sight of the Medic garb, and the men that wore it ; but until that time the very name of the Medes was a terror to the Greeks. 113. The battle at Marathon lasted a long time : and in the middle of the line, where the Persians themselves and the Sacæ were arrayed, the barbarians were victorious ; in this part, then, the barbarians conquered, and having broken the line, pursued to the interior ; but in both wings the Athenians and the Plateæans were victorious ; and having gained the victory, they allowed the defeated portion of the barbarians to flee ; and having united both wings, they fought with those that had broken their centre, and the Athenians were victorious. They followed the Persians in their flight, cutting them to pieces, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and attacked the ships.

114. And in the first place, in this battle the war-minister, Callimachus, was killed, having proved himself a brave man ; and among the generals, Stesilaus, son of Thrasyllas, perished ; and in the next place Cynægeirus, son of Euphorion, having laid hold of a ship's poop, had his hand severed by an axe and fell ; and besides, many other distinguished Athenians *were slain*. 115. In this manner the Athenians made themselves masters of seven ships : but with the rest the barbarians rowing rapidly back, and after taking off the Eretrian slaves from the island in which they had left them, sailed round Sunium, wishing to anticipate the Athenians in reaching the city. The charge prevailed among the Athenians, that they formed this design by the contrivance of the Alcmaeonidæ ; for that they, having agreed with the Persians, held up a shield to them when they were on board their ships. 116. They then sailed round Sunium. But the Athenians marched with all speed to the assistance of the city, and were beforehand in reaching it before the barbarians arrived ; and having come from the precinct of Hercules at Marathon, they took up their

station in another precinct of Hercules at Cynosarges : but the barbarians, having laid to with their fleet off Phalerum, for this was at that time the port of the Athenians, having anchored their ships there for a time, they sailed away for Asia. 117. In this battle at Marathon there died of the barbarians about six thousand four hundred men ; and of the Athenians, one hundred and ninety-two : so many fell on both sides. The following prodigy occurred there : an Athenian, Epizelus, son of Cuphagoras, while fighting in the medley, and behaving valiantly, was deprived of sight, though wounded in no part of his body, nor struck from a distance ; and he continued to be blind from that time for the remainder of his life. I have heard that he used to give the following account of his loss. He thought that a large heavy-armed man stood before him, whose beard shaded the whole of his shield ; that this spectre passed by him, and killed the man that stood by his side. Such is the account, I have been informed, Epizelus used to give.

118. Datis, on his way back with the armament to Asia, when he came to Myconus, saw a vision in his sleep : what the vision was, is not related ; but he, as soon as day appeared, caused a search to be made through the ships ; and having found in a Phœnician ship a gilded image of Apollo, he inquired whence it had been robbed ; and having learnt from what temple it was, he sailed in his own ship to Delos, and, as at that time the Delians had come back to the island, he deposited the image in the temple, and charged the Delians to convey the image to Delium of the Thebans ; that place is on the coast, opposite Chalcis : Datis, accordingly, having given this charge, sailed away. The Delians, however, did not convey back this statue, but the Thebans themselves, twenty years afterwards, carried it to Delium, in obedience to an oracle. 119. Those of the Eretrians who had been enslaved, Datis and Artaphernes, as soon as they reached Asia, took up to Susa. But king Darius, before the Eretrians were made captive, harboured deep resentment against them, as the Eretrians had been the first to begin acts of injustice : but when he saw them brought into his presence, and subject to his power, he did them no other harm, but settled them in the Cissian territory at a station of his own, the name of which is Ardericca ; it is two hundred and ten stades distant from Susa, and forty from the well which produces three

different substances ; for asphalt, salt, and oil are drawn up from it, in the following manner. It is pumped up by means of a swipe, and instead of a bucket half of a wine-skin is attached to it ; having dipped down with this, a man draws it up and then pours the contents into a receiver ; and being poured from this into another, it assumes three different forms : the asphalt and the salt immediately become solid, but the oil they collect, and the Persians call it rhadinace ; it is black and emits a strong odour. Here king Darius settled the Eretrians ; who, even to my time, occupied this territory, retaining their ancient language. Such things took place with regard to the Eretrians. 120. Two thousand of the Lacedæmonians came to Athens after the full moon, making such haste to be in time, that they arrived in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta. But having come too late for the battle, they, nevertheless, desired to see the Medes ; and having proceeded to Marathon, they saw *the slain* ; and afterwards, having commended the Athenians and their achievement, they returned home.

121. It is a marvel to me, and I cannot credit the report, that the Alcmaeonidæ ever held up a shield to the Persians by agreement, wishing that the Athenians should be subject to the barbarians and to Hippias ; for they were evidently haters of tyrants more than, or equally with, Callias, son of Phœnipus, and father of Hipponicus. For Callias was the only one of all the Athenians who, when Pisistratus was driven from Athens, dared to purchase his goods when put up to sale by the public crier ; and he devised every thing else that was most hostile to him. 122. This Callias deserves to have frequent mention made of him by every one : first of all, on account of what has been already mentioned, as being a man ardent in asserting the freedom of his country ; and in the next place, on account of what he did at Olympia, having been victorious in the horse-race, and second in the chariot-race, and having before won the prize in the Pythian games, he was distinguished among all the Greeks for the greatest munificence : moreover, with regard to his daughters, who were three in number, he behaved in the following manner : when they were of fit age for marriage he gave them a most magnificent present, and gratified their wishes ; for he gave each to that man of all the Athenians whom she wished to select for her own

husband. 123. And the Alcæonidæ were haters of tyrants, equally with, or not at all less than him. It is therefore a marvel to me, and I cannot admit the charge, that they held up a shield, who at all times shunned the tyrants, and by whose contrivance the Pisistratidæ abandoned the tyranny.⁴ Thus, in my judgment, these were the persons who liberated Athens much more than Harmodius and Aristogiton, for they, by slaying Hipparchus, exasperated the survivors of the Pisistratidæ, but did not any the more put an end to the tyranny of the rest; whereas the Alcæonidæ manifestly liberated their country, if indeed they were the persons who persuaded the Pythian to enjoin the Lacedæmonians to liberate Athens, as I have already shown.⁵ 124. But perhaps, having some grudge against the Athenian people, they betrayed their country? There were not, however, any other men who were more highly esteemed among the Athenians than them, or who were more honoured: so that it is not consistent with reason, that a shield was held up by them from such a motive. Still a shield was held up; and this cannot be denied, for so it was; but who it was that held it up I am not able to say further than this.

125. The Alcæonidæ were even from a very early period distinguished at Athens; for through Alcæon, and again through Megacles, they became very distinguished. For, in the first place, Alcæon, son of Megacles, was coadjutor to the Lydians from Sardis, who came on the part of Cræsus to consult the oracle at Delphi,⁶ and he assisted them zealously: and Cræsus being informed by the Lydians, who had gone to consult the oracle, that he had done him good service, sent for him to Sardis; and when he arrived, presented him with so much gold as he could carry away at once on his own person. Alcæon, for the purpose of such a present, had recourse to the following expedient: having put on a large cloak, and having left a deep fold in the cloak, and having drawn on the widest boots he could find, he went into the treasury to which they conducted him; and meeting with a heap of gold-dust, he first stuffed around his legs as much gold as the boots would contain; and then, having filled the whole fold with gold, and having sprinkled the gold-dust over the hair of his head, and put more into his mouth, he went out of the treasury, dragging

⁴ B. V. chap. 62—65.⁵ B. V. chap. 63.⁶ B. I. chap. 47, 53, 55.

his boots with difficulty, and resembling any thing rather than a man ; for his mouth was stuffed, and he was all over swollen. Cræsus, when he saw him, burst into laughter ; and he gave him all that, and besides, presented him with other things not of less value than it. Thus this family became extremely rich ; and this Alcmaëon, having by these means bred horses, won the prize in the Olympic games. 126.-In the second generation after, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised the family, so that it became far more celebrated among the Greeks than it had been before. For Clisthenes, son of Aristonymus, son of Myron, son of Andreas, had a daughter whose name was Agarista : her he resolved to give in marriage to the man whom he should find the most accomplished of all the Greeks. When therefore the Olympian games were being celebrated, Clisthenes, being victorious in them in the chariot race, made a proclamation ; “ that whoever of the Greeks deemed himself worthy to become the son-in-law of Clisthenes, should come to Sicyon on the sixtieth day, or even before ; since Clisthenes had determined on the marriage in a year, reckoning from the sixtieth day.” Thereupon such of the Greeks as were puffed up with themselves and their country, came as suitors ; and Clisthenes, having made a race-course and palæstra for them, kept it for this very purpose. 127. From Italy, accordingly, came Smindyrides, son of Hippocrates, a Sybarite, who more than any other man reached the highest pitch of luxury ; (and Sybaris was at that time in a most flourishing condition ;) and Damasus of Siris, son of Amyris called the Wise : these came from Italy. From the Ionian gulf, Amphimnestus, son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian ; he came from the Ionian gulf. An Ætolian came, Males, brother of that Titormus who surpassed the Greeks in strength, and fled from the society of men to the extremity of the Ætolian territory. And from Peloponnesus, Leocedes, son of Pheidon tyrant of the Argives, *a descendant* of that Pheidon who introduced measures among the Peloponnesians, and was the most insolent of all the Greeks, who having removed the Elean umpires, himself regulated the games at Olympia ; his son accordingly came. And Amiantus, son of Lycurgus, an Arcadian from Trapezus ; and an Azenian from the city of Pæos, Laphanes, son of Euphorion, who, as the story is told in Arcadia, received the Dioscuri in his house, and after that

entertained all men ; and an Elean, Onomastus, son of Agæus : these accordingly came from the Peloponnesus itself. From Athens there came Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, the same who had visited Cræsus, and another, Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who surpassed the Athenians in wealth and beauty. From Eretria, which was flourishing at that time, came Lysanias ; he was the only one from Eubœa. And from Thessaly there came, of the Scopades, Diactorides a Cranonian ; and from the Molossi, Alcon. 128. So many were the suitors. When they had arrived on the appointed day, Clisthenes made inquiries of their country, and the family of each ; then detaining them for a year, he made trial of their manly qualities, their dispositions, learning, and morals ; holding familiar intercourse with each separately, and with all together, and leading out to the gymnasia such of them as were younger ; but most of all he made trial of them at the banquet : for as long as he detained them, he did this throughout, and at the same time entertained them magnificently. And somehow of all the suitors those that had come from Athens pleased him most, and of these Hippoclides, son of Tisander, was preferred both on account of his manly qualities, and because he was distantly related to the Cypselidæ in Corinth. 129. When the day appointed for the consummation of the marriage arrived, and for the declaration of Clisthenes himself, whom he would choose of them all, Clisthenes, having sacrificed a hundred oxen, entertained both the suitors themselves and all the Sicyonians ; and when they had concluded the feast, the suitors had a contest about music, and any subject proposed for conversation. As the drinking went on, Hippoclides, who much attracted the attention of the rest, ordered the flute-player to play a dance ; and when the flute-player obeyed, he began to dance : and he danced, probably, so as to please himself ; but Clisthenes, seeing it, beheld the whole matter with suspicion. Afterwards, Hippoclides, having rested awhile, ordered some one to bring in a table ; and when the table came in, he first danced Laconian figures on it, and then Attic ones ; and in the third place, having leant his head on the table he gesticulated with his legs. But Clisthenes, when he danced the first and second time, revolted from the thought of having Hippoclides for his son-in-law, on account of his dancing and want of decorum, yet restrained himself, not wishing to burst out

against him ; but when he saw him gesticulating with his legs, he was no longer able to restrain himself, and said : " Son of Tisander, you have danced away your marriage." But Hippocles answered : " No matter to Hippocles." Hence this answer became a proverb. 130. Clisthenes, having commanded silence, thus addressed the assembled company : " Gentlemen, suitors of my daughter, I commend you all, and, if it were possible, would gratify you all, not selecting one of you above the others, nor rejecting the rest. But as it is not possible, since I have to determine about a single damsel, to indulge the wishes of all ; to such of you as are rejected from the marriage I present a talent of silver to each, on account of your condescending to take a wife from my family, and of your absence from home ; but to Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, I betroth my daughter Agarista, according to the laws of the Athenians." When Megacles said that he accepted the betrothal, the marriage was celebrated by Clisthenes. 131. This happened respecting the decision between the suitors, and thus the Alcmaeonidæ became celebrated throughout Greece. From this marriage sprung Clisthenes, who established the tribes and a democracy among the Athenians, taking his name from his maternal grandfather the Sicyonian ; he was born to Megacles, as was also Hippocrates : and from Hippocrates, another Megacles, and another Agarista, who took her name from Agarista, daughter of Clisthenes ; she having married Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, and being with child, saw a vision in her sleep, and fancied that she brought forth a lion ; and after a few days she bore Pericles to Xanthippus.

132. After the defeat of the *Persians* at Marathon, Miltiades, who was before highly esteemed among the Athenians, then still more increased his reputation. Having therefore asked of the Athenians seventy ships, and troops and money, without telling them what country he purposed to invade, but saying that he would make them rich if they would follow him, for that he would take them to such a country, from whence they would easily bring abundance of gold ; speaking thus he asked for the ships ; and the Athenians, elated by these hopes, granted them. 133. Miltiades, accordingly, having taken with him the troops, sailed against Paros, alleging as a pretext, that the Parians had first begun hostilities

by sending a trireme with the Persian to Marathon. This was his pretended reason ; but, in fact, he had a grudge against the Parians on account of Lysagoras, son of Tisias, who was a Parian by birth, and had calumniated him to Hydarnes the Persian. Miltiades, having arrived with his forces at the place to which he was sailing, besieged the Parians, who were driven within their walls ; and sending a herald to them, he demanded a hundred talents, saying, that if they did not give him that sum, he would not draw off his army until he had destroyed them. The Parians never entertained the thought, whether they should give Miltiades any money ; but devised means by which they might defend the city ; and in addition to other plans, they also in the several parts where the wall was most exposed to attack, there raised it, during the night, to double its former height. 134. Up to this point of the story all the Greeks agree ; but after this the Parians themselves say that it happened as follows. That when Miltiades was in a state of perplexity, a captive woman, who was by birth a Parian, and her name was Timo, conferred with him ; she was an inferior priestess of the infernal goddesses. When she came into the presence of Miltiades, she advised him, if he deemed it of great consequence to take Paros, to act as she should suggest. She then made some suggestion ; and he, coming to the mound that is before the city, leaped over the fence of Ceres Thesmophora, as he was unable to open the door ; and having leaped over, he went to the temple, for the purpose of doing something within, either to move some of the things that may not be moved, or to do something or other. And he was just at the door, when suddenly a thrill of horror came over him, and he went back by the same way ; and in leaping over the fence his thigh was dislocated ; others say that he hurt his knee. 135. Miltiades accordingly, being in a bad plight, sailed back home, neither bringing money to the Athenians, nor having reduced Paros, but having besieged it for six and twenty days, and ravaged the island. The Parians, being informed that Timo, the priestess of the goddesses, had directed Miltiades, and desiring to punish her for so doing, sent deputies to the oracle at Delphi, as soon as they were relieved from the siege : they sent to inquire whether they should put to death the priestess of the goddesses, for having made known to the enemy the means of capturing her country,

and for having discovered to Miltiades sacred things, which ought not to be revealed to the male sex. But the Pythian did not allow them, saying, "that Timo was not to blame for this, but that it was fated Miltiades should come to a miserable end, and she had appeared to him as a guide to misfortunes." The Pythian gave this answer to the Parians. 136. When Miltiades returned from Paros, the Athenians were loud in their complaints against him, both all others, and especially Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, who, bringing a capital charge against Miltiades before the people, prosecuted him on a charge of deceiving the Athenians. Miltiades, though present in person, made no defence; for he was unable, as his thigh had begun to mortify. But while he lay on a couch, his friends made a defence for him, dwelling much on the battle that had been fought at Marathon, and on the capture of Lemnos; since, having taken Lemnos, and inflicted vengeance on the Pelasgians, he had given it up to the Athenians. The people so far favouring him as to acquit him of the capital offence, and having fined him fifty talents for the injury he had done, Miltiades soon after ended his life by the putrefaction and mortification of his thigh. His son Cimon paid the fifty talents.

137. Miltiades, son of Cimon, had possessed himself of Lemnos in the following manner. The Pelasgians, when they had been driven out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly,—(for this I am unable to determine, except so far as is related,) Hecataeus, however, son of Hege-sander, says in his history, that it was "unjustly, for that, when the Athenians saw the lands under Hymettus, which they had given to the Pelasgians in payment for the wall they had formerly built about the Acropolis; when the Athenians saw this well cultivated, which was before barren and of no value, jealousy and a desire of the land took possession of them, and so the Athenians drove them out, without alleging any other pretence whatever." But as the Athenians say, "they justly expelled them; for that the Pelasgians, while settled under Mount Hymettus, made incursions from thence, and committed the following injuries. For that their daughters and sons used constantly to go for water to the Nine Springs, because at that time neither they nor the other Greeks had domestic servants: and whenever the young wo-

men went there, the Pelasgians used, out of insolence and contempt, to offer violence to them; nor were they satisfied with doing this, but at last they were discovered in the very act of plotting to attack *the city*. *They add*, that they themselves showed themselves so much better men than them, in that, when it was in their power to put the Pelasgians to death, since they had found them plotting against them, they would not do so, but warned them to depart the country; and that they, accordingly, withdrawing, possessed themselves of other places, and amongst them, of Lemnos." Hecataeus has given the former account, and the Athenians give the latter. 138. But these Pelasgians, who then inhabited Lemnos, and desired to be revenged on the Athenians, being well acquainted with the festivals of the Athenians, stationed fifty-oared galleys and laid an ambuscade for the Athenian women, as they celebrated the festival of Diana in Brauron, and having carried many of them away from thence, they sailed off, and taking them to Lemnos, kept them as concubines. But when these women were fully supplied with children, they instructed their sons in the Attic language and the manners of the Athenians; they, therefore, would not hold any intercourse with the sons of the Pelasgian women, but if any one of their number was beaten by one of them, they all immediately assisted, and revenged one another; moreover, these boys thought they had a right to govern the other boys, and proved far superior to them. But the Pelasgians, observing this, consulted together, and, on consideration, considerable alarm came over them, as to what these boys would do when they were grown up, if they already determined to assist each other against the sons of their lawful wives, and even now endeavoured to rule over them. Thereupon, they resolved to murder the children they had by the Attic women; and, accordingly, they did so, and moreover put their mothers to death. From this crime, and that which the women perpetrated before this, who, with the assistance of Thoas, killed their own husbands, all enormous actions are wont to be called Lemnian throughout Greece. 139. But when the Pelasgians had murdered their own children and women, neither did their land yield fruit, nor were their wives and flocks equally prolific as before; being, therefore, afflicted by famine and childlessness, they sent to Delphi, to seek for some deliverance from their

present distresses. But the Pythian bade them give such satisfaction to the Athenians as the Athenians themselves should impose. The Pelasgians, therefore, went to Athens, and professed themselves ready to give satisfaction for the whole injury. But the Athenians, having spread a couch in the Prytaneum in the handsomest way they were able, and having placed by it a table full of all sorts of good things, commanded the Pelasgians to surrender their country to them, in such a condition. But the Pelasgians said, in answer, "When a ship shall perform the voyage in one day by the north wind from your country to ours, we will then deliver it up." This they said, supposing that it was impossible the thing should happen, because Attica lies far to the south of Lemnos. 140. This took place at that time. But very many years after this, when the Chersonese in the Hellespont became subject to the Athenians, Miltiades, son of Cimon, at a time when the Etesian winds prevailed, having performed the voyage in a ship from Elæus, on the Hellespont, to Lemnos, required the Pelasgians to quit the island, reminding them of the oracle, which the Pelasgians expected could never be accomplished. The Hephæstians accordingly obeyed; but the Myrinæans, not acknowledging the Chersonese to be Attica, were besieged until they also surrendered. Thus the Athenians and Miltiades got possession of Lemnos.
